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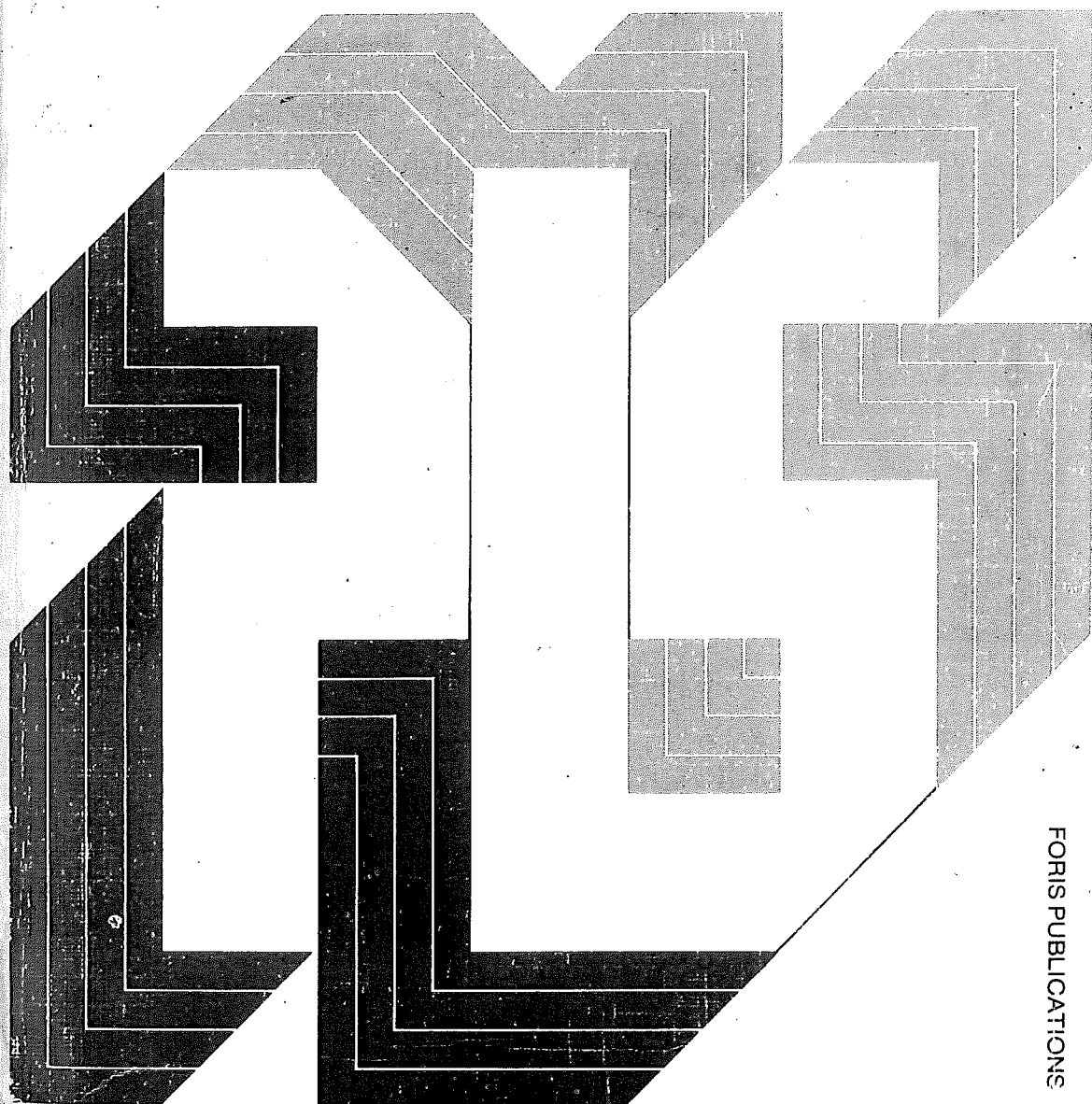
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Chapter 7

Three passive-like constructions in Indonesian

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Sentani, Irian Jaya, Indonesia

1.0. Introduction

In Bahasa Indonesia (B.I.) there are at least three passive-like constructions, exemplified by (1), (2) and (3).

- (1) Buku itu dibaca (oleh) orang itu
book that passive-read (by) person that
'That book was (is) read by that person'
- (2) Buku itu saya baca
book that (by)me read
'That book was read by me'
- (3) Maaf, kopi Saudara terminum oleh saya
Sorry, coffee your accid-drink by me
'Sorry, I (accidentally) drank your coffee'

I will call (1) the Canonical Passive (CanP), (2) the Noncanonical Passive (NonP), and (3) the Accidental Passive (AccP). The problem to be discussed in this paper is the relation between CanP, NonP and AccP. I will deal with this problem from the point of view of Functional Grammar (Dik 1978).

I will argue that CanP and NonP are manifestations of one process of Passivization in Indonesian. The differences between CanP and NonP I will try to explain in terms of the interaction of two language-independent factors, LIPOC (Dik 1978: 192) and Perspective (Dik 1978: 71). LIPOC operates on the syntactic status of the Agent constituents of first and second person ($Ag_{1/2}$), viz. PRO(nominal). Perspective has to do with the semantic-pragmatic status of $Ag_{1/2}$, viz. Speaker/Hearer. AccP is argued not to be a passive construction at all, but a construction resulting from the application of a predicate formation rule, Noncontrol Verb Formation, which derives State/Process Verbs (-control, +dynamism) from Action Verbs (+control, +dynamism).

I will begin by presenting some facts concerning the three constructions, after which I will deal with the relation CanP/NonP. Finally, I will go into the relation between Passivization (CanP/NonP) and AccP.

1. Some facts

Due to the very complex sociolinguistic setting of B.I. (its mostly being used as a second language: the influence of closely related first languages (Javanese, Sundanese etc.) and of local, substandard varieties of B.I.) it is sometimes very hard to establish the facts of contemporary B.I. For example, in the case of the distribution of CanP and NonP there is a lot of contradictory information in the literature. Verhaar (1978: 11) writes that CanP occurs only with Agents of the third person (Ag_3) and that NonP occurs only with Agents of the first and second person ($Ag_{1/2}$). Chung (1976: 60) claims that CanP occurs with Agents of all grammatical persons and that NonP only occurs with pronominal Agents ($AgPRO$). Butar-Butar (1976: 41) claims that CanP occurs with Ag_3 and that NonP only occurs with $AgPRO$. In classical standard B.I., as taught in schools, however, and in textbooks on B.I., like Johns 1978, there is a satisfactory consensus concerning the facts. Regarding the distribution of CanP and NonP the norm of standard B.I. is clear: CanP with Ag_3 , NonP with $Ag_{1/2}$. In this paper standard B.I. is described.

1.1 Canonical Passive

Note the expressions (4) and (5); (5) is a CanP.

- (4) Orang itu mem-baca buku itu
person that active/transitive-read book that
'That person read that book'
- (5) Buku itu di-baca (oleh) orang itu
book that pass-read (by) person that
'That book was read by that person'

(4) and (5) differ only in syntactic function assignment: in (4) there is an AgentSubject, *orang itu*_{AgSubj}, and a GoalObject, *buku itu*_{GoObj}. In (5) there is a GoalSubject, *buku itu*_{GoSubj}, and an Agent, *(oleh) orang itu*_{Ag}. In (4) the V has the active-transitive prefix *meN-*. (5) is a Canonical Passive. Canonical Passives have the following characteristics.

- (6) a. form of Ag : marking of semantic function Agent by *oleh*; *oleh* is obligatory if the Ag does not immediately follow the V; otherwise it is optional.
- b. position Ag : positional freedom, usually after the V.
- c. status Ag : optional.
- d. Verb Form : the V has the passive prefix *di-*.

e. distribution :

1.2 Noncanonical Passives

Note the expressions (8)

- (8) Saya membaca
I act/trans-r
'I read that book'
- (9) Buku itu saya
book that (by)me
'That book was read by me'

(8) and (9) differ only in AgSubj, *saya* 'I', and a V. In (8) the V has the active prefix *me-* demonstrated that *buku itu* is the GoalObject. In (9) that such rules as Equivalence and Noncanonical Passives

(10) a. form of Ag :

- b. position of Ag :
c. status of Ag :
d. Verb Form :
e. distribution :

1.3 Accidental Passive

Note (13) and (14); (14)

- (13) Saya minum kopi
I drink coffee
'I drank your coffee'

e. distribution : only with Agents (sg/pl) of the third person (Ag₃):

cf. (7) *Buku itu dibaca (oleh) saya /engkau
book that pass-read (by) me /you
'That book was read by me/you'

1.2 Noncanonical Passives

Note the expressions (8) and (9); (9) is a NonP.

(8) Saya membaca buku itu
I act/trans-read book that
'I read that book'

(9) Buku itu saya baca
book that (by)me read
'That book was read by me'

(8) and (9) differ only in syntactic function assignment; in (8) there is an AgSubj, *saya* 'I', and a GoObj, *buku itu* 'that book', in (9) a GoSubj and an Ag. In (8) the V has the active-transitive prefix *meN-*. Chung (1976: 63) has amply demonstrated that *buku itu* in (9) is a Subj and not a preposed Obj, by showing that such rules as Equi and Subject-to-Object Raising apply to it.

Noncanonical Passives have the following characteristics:

- (10) a. form of Ag : no marking of Ag-function in form of a constituent;
oleh 'by', must be absent.
b. position of Ag : always immediately before V.
c. status of Ag : obligatory.
d. Verb Form : no passive prefix *di-*.
e. distribution : only with Agents of first and second person (sg/pl):

cf. (11) *Buku itu perempuan ini baca
book that woman this read
'That book was read by this woman'

(12) *Buku itu dia baca
book that (by)him/her read
'That book was read by him/her'

1.3 Accidental Passive

Note (13) and (14); (14) is an AccP.

(13) Saya minum kopi Saudara.
I drink coffee your
'I drank your coffee'

- (14) Maaf, kopi Saudara terminum oleh saya
 Sorry, coffee your accid-drink by me
 'Sorry, I accidentally drank your coffee'

(13) and (14) do not only differ in syntactic function assignment: (14) has an accidental or involuntary reading, which (13) lacks. The point in (14) is that *saya* did not control the state of affairs, described by (14), whereas in (13) *saya* is the controlling Agent.

Accidental Passives have the following characteristics:

- (15) a. form of *oleh*-phrase : in section 3 I will interpret *saya* in (14) as a Force; this Force function is always marked by *oleh*.
 b. position *oleh*-phrase : positional freedom, usually after V.
 c. status *oleh*-phrase : optional.
 d. Verb form : the V has the prefix *ter*-
 e. distribution : with all grammatical persons.

2. The relation between Canonical and Noncanonical Passive

2.1 The syntactic factor: LIPOC

The relation between CanP and NonP can partly be understood in terms of LIPOC (Dik 1978: 193). In LIPOC the preferred position of PRO is before V. For example in Lithuanian both the Obj and the Recipient occur postverbally if NP, but before the V if PRO; languages like French, Greek, Guarani and Swahili have VO dominant order, but OV when the Obj is PRO (Dik 1978: 197).

In Indonesian NonP with its preverbal Ag allows only AgPRO and never AgNP. The LIPOC character of NonP manifests itself more clearly in contemporary spoken Indonesian than in the standard Indonesian described in this paper.

In contemporary Indonesian, as described by Butar-Butar (1976: 40, 41), third person PROAg_s also occur (optionally) preverbally, whereas third person NPAg_s in this dialect are never allowed in preverbal position. Yet there must be another factor interacting with LIPOC because the AgPRO of first and second person behave differently from the AgPRO of third person with regard to LIPOC pressure, in both dialects.

In standard B.I. PROAg_{1/2} occurs obligatorily in preverbal position (in NonP), whereas PROAg₃ occurs obligatorily in postverbal position (in CanP). In contemporary spoken B.I., PROAg_{1/2} occurs obligatorily in preverbal position in NonP,

PASSIVES IN INDONESIAN

as in standard B.I., but bally in CanP. The factor causing the special beha

2.2 The semantic factor:

The theory of Functional only a semantic function semantic and syntact in (16)) (Dik 1978: 74).

- (16) John gave the bc

If we term constituents with both syntactic and characterize both types

(17)

a. form of constituent

b. position of constituent

c. status of constituent

d. verbal agreement

The 'masking' of the seen in the English exam RecSubj are formally nor

as in standard B.I., but the PRO_{Ag_3} occurs both preverbally in NonP and postverbally in CanP. The factor causing this different behaviour of PRO_{Ag_3} , or rather causing the special behaviour of $PRO_{Ag_{1/2}}$, is discussed in the following section.

2.2 The semantic factor: Perspective

The theory of Functional Grammar distinguishes between constituents which have only a semantic function (*to Mary*_{Rec} in (16)) and constituents which have both semantic and syntactic functional specifications (*John*_{AgSubj} and *the book*_{GoObj} in (16)) (Dik 1978: 74).

(16) John gave the book to Mary

If we term constituents with only a semantic function type 1 and constituents with both syntactic and semantic functions type 2 constituents, then we can characterize both types crosslinguistically as follows:

(17)	type 1	type 2
a. <i>form of constituent</i>	semantic function overtly marked by case/prepositions	semantic function 'masked'
b. <i>position of constituent</i>	1. positional freedom 2. usually in sentence periphery	1. positionally more or less fixed 2. in sentence nucleus
c. <i>status of constituent</i>	1. syntactic: optional 2. semantic: non-perspective	1. syntactic: obligatory 2. semantic: perspective
d. <i>verbal agreement</i>	no triggering of verbal agreement	triggering of verbal agreement (if there is any verbal agreement)

The 'masking' of the semantic functions in the form of type 2 constituents can be seen in the English examples (18), (19) and (20), in which the Ag_{Subj} , Go_{Subj} and Rec_{Subj} are formally nondistinct.

- (18) *John gave the book to Mary*
 AgSubj Rec
- (19) *The book was given to Mary by John*
 GoSubj Ag
- (20) *Mary was given the book by John*
 RecSubj Ag

The semantic function is marked by prepositions in the type 1 constituents to *Mary*_{Rec} in (18) and *by John*_{Ag} in (19) (cf. Dik 1978: 74).

Positionally we find type 2 constituents usually in a fixed range of positions (for Subj and Obj in the linear structure) in the syntactic nucleus of the expression. Type 1 constituents tend to have positional freedom; they occur normally in the sentence periphery.

In terms of semantic status type 2 constituents, being Subj or Obj, are always perspective constituents, i.e. the state of affairs described by the expression is presented from the point of view or the perspective of the referents of type 2 constituents (Dik 1978: 71). In (18)–(20) the same state of affairs, an Action of giving, involving an Agent, a Goal and a Recipient, is presented from three different perspectives: in (18) *John*_{AgSubj} is the perspective constituent, in (19) *the book*_{GoSubj} and in (20) *Mary*_{RecSubj}. The syntactic status of perspective constituents reflects their semantic status: they are normally obligatory.

Kuno (1976) introduces the notion of 'empathy', which is closely related to the Functional Grammar notion of 'perspective'. Kuno (1976: 431) defines 'empathy' as: 'the speaker's attitude toward the participants of the event that he is describing. I use the term 'empathy' to characterize the speaker's identification, in varying degrees, with a participant in an event.' He then goes on to formulate a number of interesting general tendencies which are developed in terms of his notion. For instance, the *Surface Structure Empathy Hierarchy* (1976: 432) claims that

'It is easiest for the speaker to empathize with the referent of the subject; it is next easiest for him to empathize with the referent of the object ... it is most difficult for him to empathize with the referent of the by-passive agentive. Subject > Object > ... > By-Agentive.'

This hierarchy is of course completely in line with the Functional Grammar claims that Subjects present the primary perspective on a state of affairs, that Objects present a secondary perspective and that the passive Agent is out of perspective (type 1 constituent). See Dik (1978: 71) for the distinction of primary/secondary

perspective. Another hint to B.I. data regarding C. (Kuno 1976: 433):

'It is easiest for the his own point of view with the hearer; it party, at the exclusive Party.'

In B.I., which is very much Speaker and Hearer will attracting nature of context only by their speech-act nite (cf. Schwartz 1976:

Related to the notion of zation is in Functional and Subject Assignment in state of affairs. The functional unexpected perspectivization

If we restrict our attention to the following double semantic 1. to perspectivize the normally, as indeed we being the highest functional 2. to de-perspectivize the pondingly expressed action. Thus we find typically a

(21) Passivization in Action predication

The selection of a non-actology (Dik 1978: 75, 8

Having briefly discussed tive, Subj Assignment and in the FG framework, I v

perspective. Another hierarchy in terms of 'empathy' and of crucial importance to B.I. data regarding CanP/NonP, is the *Speech-Act Participant Empathy Hierarchy* (Kuno 1976: 433):

'It is easiest for the speaker to empathize with himself (i.e., to express his own point of view); it is next easiest for him to express his empathy with the hearer; it is most difficult for him to empathize with the third party, at the exclusion of the hearer or himself. Speaker > Hearer > Third Party.'

In B.I., which is very much a Hearer-oriented language (see Chung 1976: 91, 97), Speaker and Hearer will both have high empathy ratings. This inherent perspective-attracting nature of constituents referring to Speaker and Hearer is caused not only by their speech-act roles, but also by their always being referential-definite (cf. Schwartz 1976: 523) and (usually) human constituents.

Related to the notion of 'perspective' is the notion of 'Passivization'. Passivization is in Functional Grammar discussed in the framework of Subject Assignment, and Subject Assignment is claimed to determine the (primary) perspective on a state of affairs. The functionality of Passivization is to bring about a marked, unexpected perspectivizing of a state of affairs.

If we restrict our attention to Actions we can say that Passivization has the following double semantic functionality:

1. to perspectivize the Action from a non-Agent (non-AgSubj) point of view; normally, as indeed would be expected, the Agent will be selected as Subj, being the highest function on the *Semantic Function Hierarchy* (Dik 1978: 70).
2. to de-perspectivize the Agent; the Ag is out of perspective and is correspondingly expressed as a non-Subj (type 1 constituent).

Thus we find typically and crosslinguistically:

(21) Passivization in Action predications	functional specification	type of constituent	± perspective
	non-AgSubj	type 2	+ perspective
	Ag	type 1	- perspective

The selection of a non-AgSubj will be coded on the V and lead to passive morphology (Dik 1978: 75, 84).

Having briefly discussed the notions of type 1 and type 2 constituents, Perspective, Subj Assignment and Passivization, which are all very intimately related in the FG framework, I will now return to the facts of B.I.

If we compare the B.I. CanP with schema (21) we find that the CanP is a full passive construction, crosslinguistically unmarked. Note for example (22):

- (22) Buku itu dibaca di restoran itu oleh orang itu
 book that pass-read in restaurant that by person that
 'That book was read in that restaurant by that person'

In (22) there is a GoSubj, *buku itu* 'that book', from the point of view of which the Action is presented (+perspective), fully expressed as a type 2 constituent. The primary function of Passivization - to perspectivize the state of affairs from a non-Ag point of view - has been performed.

The secondary function of Passivization has also been performed: there is an Ag, backgrounded as a non-perspective constituent, fully expressed as a type 1 constituent; (23) compares the predicted properties of type 1 constituents, listed in (17), with the factual properties of the Ag in CanP, listed in (6) (see 1.1).

(23) <i>The Ag in CanP</i>	predicted type 1 properties	factual properties
<i>form</i>	semantic function overtly marked (17a)	marking of semantic function by <i>oleh</i> (6a)
<i>position</i>	1. positional freedom 2. usually in sentence periphery (17b)	positional freedom, usually after V (6b)
<i>status</i>	optional and non-perspective (17c)	optional (6c) and non-perspective

The full passive nature of CanP is reflected in the form of the V: the passive marker *di-* is present.

If we compare B.I. NonP with schema (21) we find that NonP is a semi-passive, crosslinguistically highly marked construction. Note for example (24):

- (24) Buku itu saya baca
 book that (by)me read
 'That book was read by me'

In (24) there is a GoSubj, *buku itu*, presenting the perspective from which the Action is viewed, fully expressed as a type 2 constituent. The Goal function of

buku itu is not overtly and is obligatory. Thus However, the secondary backgrounded fully as a pressed as a type 1 con

(25) <i>The Ag in NonP</i>	
<i>form</i>	
<i>position</i>	
<i>status</i>	

The V in NonP is voice-*di-* signals that a non-(out of perspective, by the implications for the voice-neutrality of the NonP has all the type 2 position in the sentence

How might one explain the constituents in NonP be double-subject construction already a Subject, viz. but *saya* does not occur (i) Obj is not assigned V. Therefore we are for type 2 properties, which

Yet the type 1/2-dichotomy in NonP. Rather, this dichotomy nature of these constituents. The Ag constituents in Speaker and Hearer (and

buku itu is not overtly expressed; *buku itu* occupies the initial Subject position and is obligatory. Thus the primary function of Passivization has been performed. However, the secondary function of Passivization has not: the Ag has not been backgrounded fully as a non-perspective constituent and the Ag has not been expressed as a type 1 constituent:

(25) <i>The Ag in NonP</i>	predicted type 1 properties (see (17))	factual properties (see (10) in 1.2)
<i>form</i>	semantic function overtly marked (17a)	no marking of Ag-function (10a)
<i>position</i>	1. positional freedom 2. usually in sentence periphery (17b)	always immediately before V (10b)
<i>status</i>	optional and non-perspective (17c)	obligatory (10c) and +perspective

The V in NonP is voice-neutral: the passive prefix *di-* is lacking. The use of *di-* signals that a non-Ag is Subj, with the implication that the Ag is non-Subj (out of perspective, type 1 expression). Although there is in NonP a non-AgSubj, the implications for the Ag are absent; there is not a clear non-SubjAg. The voice-neutrality of the V reflects the semi-passive nature of NonP. The Ag in NonP has all the type 2 characteristics: semantic function 'masked', a fixed position in the sentence nucleus and an obligatory perspective status.

How might one explain the type 2 properties of the Ag in NonP? Have the Ag constituents in NonP been assigned a syntactic function? Is NonP a sort of double-subject construction? Is *saya* in (24) a Subject? No, because (i) there is already a Subject, viz. *buku itu*, and (ii) Subj in B.I. is expressed by position, but *saya* does not occupy Subj position. Is *saya* in (24) an Object? No, because (i) Obj is not assigned (normally) to Ag, and (ii) the Obj in B.I. occurs after V. Therefore we are forced to assume that in B.I. there are constituents with type 2 properties, which nevertheless only have a semantic function specified.

Yet the type 1/2-dichotomy is not refuted by these passive Ag-constituents in NonP. Rather, this dichotomy proves to be a framework in which the very special nature of these constituents and the construction they occur in becomes clear. The Ag constituents in NonP are always first and second person: they refer to Speaker and Hearer (and are always referential and human). This cluster of

the CanP is a full
or example (22):

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a type 2 constituent.
the state of affairs

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positional freedom, usually after V (6b)
optional (6c) and non-perspective

the V: the passive

is a semi-passive,
ample (24):

tive from which the
The Goal function of

semantic-pragmatic properties, especially their speech act roles (cf. Kuno's *Speech Act Participant Empathy Hierarchy* discussed above), makes the $Ag_{1/2}$ very hard not to 'empathize' with (Kuno 1976), or, in Dik's (1978) terms, makes it very hard to treat them as non-perspective constituents.

B.I. has syntactically recognized the inherent perspective nature of $Ag_{1/2}$ (Speaker/Hearer) in constructions with non-AgSubj by treating them like type 2 constituents.

By resisting a non-perspective status, the $Ag_{1/2}$ constituents block the performing of the secondary function of Passivization, namely the de-perspectivizing of the Ag.

It would be an interesting line for further research to see how other languages treat passive Agents of first and second person, referring to Speaker/Hearer and therefore having high empathy or perspective ratings. In other words it would be interesting to see how they solve the problem of the tension between the semantic perspective-attracting nature of $Ag_{1/2}$ and their syntactic expression as type 1 constituents (only a semantic function).

A priori, I see two solutions. First, a language declares expressions of type (26) ungrammatical and has, instead of type (26), an expression-type in which the non-Subj $Ag_{1/2}$ (+perspective) is wholly or partly treated as a type 2 constituent.

(26) John was hit by me

For example, (27) is ungrammatical in B.I.:

(27) *Siti dipukul oleh saya
S. pass-hit by me
'Siti was hit by me'

Instead of (27) B.I. has developed an expression type, NonP, in which the perspective nature of Speaker/Hearer is syntactically recognized by a type 2 treatment, cf. (28)

(28) Siti saya pukul
S. (by)me hit
'Siti was hit by me'

Maasai, a Nilo-Hamitic language, also treats non-Subj $Ag_{1/2}$ partly as type 2 con-

stituents. In Maasai pass. type 2 property, whereas (non-Ag) Subject controls

Secondly, a language does but strongly avoids such strange, highly marked an (26) is not ungrammatical only in technical writing speaker is allowed to tak

3. Passivization (CanP/No

3.1 The syntactic relatio

CanP and NonP both belong being due to the syntacti

Between (29) and (30) which have to do with a d

(29) Saya membaca buk
I act-read boo
'I read that book

(30) Buku itu saya
book that (by)me
'That book was re

The problem in this secti dental construction.

Note (31) and (32):

(31) Buku itu dibaca
book that passive
'That book was re

(32) Buku itu terbaca
book that accid-r
'That book was (a

At first sight (32) close problems if (32) is inter pression could be taken t (33):

roles (cf. Kuno's
makes the $Ag_{1/2}$ very
78) terms, makes it

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stituents. In Maasai passive $Ag_{1/2}$ controls verbal agreement (cf. (17d)), a type 2 property, whereas with passive Ag_3 the situation is normal, i.e. the (non- Ag) Subject controls this agreement (Givón 1976: 179).

Secondly, a language does not declare expressions of type (26) ungrammatical, but strongly avoids such expressions and when they are used they will sound strange, highly marked and perhaps even unacceptable. In English, for example, (26) is not ungrammatical, but dubious and according to Kuno (1976: 433) 'used only in technical writing or in journalistic reporting style, in which the speaker is allowed to take a detached view of himself.'

3. Passivization (*CanP/NonP*) and the Accidental Passive

3.1 The syntactic relation

CanP and *NonP* both belong to one process of Passivization, their differences being due to the syntactic (*PRO*) and semantic (+perspective) status of $Ag_{1/2}$.

Between (29) and (30) there are no other semantic differences than those which have to do with a different perspectivizing of the same state of affairs.

- (29) Saya membaca buku itu
I act-read book that
'I read that book'
- (30) Buku itu saya baca
book that (by)me read
'That book was read by me'

The problem in this section is the relation between Passivization and the Accidental construction.

Note (31) and (32):

- (31) Buku itu dibaca (oleh) orang itu
book that passive-read (by) person that
'That book was read by that person'
- (32) Buku itu terbaca oleh orang itu
book that accid-read by person that
'That book was (accidentally) read by that person'

At first sight (32) closely parallels (31) syntactically, but there are serious problems if (32) is interpreted as a result of Passivization. What active expression could be taken to be the active counterpart of (32)? Clearly it is not (33):

P, in which the per-
zed by a type 2 treat-

, partly as type 2 con-

- (33) Orang itu membaca buku itu
 person that act-read book that
 'That person read that book'

If (32) and (33) were the active and passive expression of the same underlying predication, one would not expect other semantic differences between them than those of perspective. But (32) has an accidental reading, which (33) lacks.

Another candidate for the active counterpart of (32) would be an Accidental Active Construction like (34); however, such constructions do not exist in B.I.:

- (34) *Orang itu terbaca buku itu
 person that accid-read book that
 'That person (accidentally) read that book'

One could of course postulate a common underlying predication for (32) and (34) and then block somehow the active realization (34), but in this solution one would expect the allowed passive realization (32) to be formed by the same expression rules which form other passive constructions in B.I. Despite the superficial resemblances between (31) and (32), AccP, like (32), has properties which make it impossible to regard it as a product of Passivization.

Firstly, with AccP the Ag of first and second person must occur postverbally (if not fronted to P₁-position by rules expressing pragmatic functions), whereas in Passivization they must occur in immediate preverbal position:

- (35) *Buku itu baca saya
 book that read (by)me
 'That book was read by me'

Secondly, in AccP *oleh* obligatorily precedes the Force (*orang itu* in (32)), whereas with Passivization *oleh* is never present with Ag_{1/2} and optionally with Ag₃ (if Ag₃ does not follow the V immediately it is obligatory). Thirdly, in AccP the Force is optional, whereas in Passivization only the Ag₃ is optional.

3.2 The Semantic Relation

Let us look again at the relation between Passivization and AccP, this time from the semantic point of view.

Note (36) and (37):

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- (36) Buku itu dibawa
 book that pass-br
 'That book was bro
 (37) Buku itu terbawa
 book that accid-br
 'That person broug

(36) designates an Action, sight seems to report an A presented as a controller; is precisely the point in used in 'sorry'-sentences,

- (38) Maaf, kopi Sau
 Sorry, coffee you
 'Sorry, I (acciden

In (37) *orang itu* is prese as a Force; (37) is a Proc when we notice how a typic

- (39) Pintu terbuka o
 door accid-open b
 'The door was open

The idea of 'accidentally, structions with +human For 'by the wind', in (39), th return to this point below ed to two-place *ter-Proces*

In Functional Grammar t (Dik 1978: 37). Type 1 Pro (Proc). (40) is an example

- (40) John_{Proc} fell down

Type 2 Processes have two Force. (41) is an example:

- (41) The wind_{FO} opened

- (36) Buku itu dibawa (oleh) orang itu
book that pass-bring (by) person that
'That book was brought by that person'
- (37) Buku itu terbawa oleh orang itu
book that accid-bring by person that
'That person brought that book (accidentally)'

(36) designates an Action, controlled by the Agent *orang itu*. (37) at first sight seems to report an Action, but on the other hand *orang itu* in (37) is not presented as a controller; agentivity presupposes volition, but lack of volition is precisely the point in the semantics of AccP. That is why the AccP is often used in 'sorry'-sentences, like (38):

- (38) Maaf, kopi Saudara terminum oleh saya
Sorry, coffee your accid-drink by me
'Sorry, I (accidentally) drank your coffee'

In (37) *orang itu* is presented as an instigator or cause of the state of affairs, as a Force; (37) is a Process. This Process interpretation of (37) is reinforced when we notice how a typical Process like (39) is expressed:

- (39) Pintu terbuka oleh angin
door accid-open by wind
'The door was opened by the wind'

The idea of 'accidentally, not on purpose' is especially present in *ter*-constructions with +human Forces, like (38). With -human Forces, such as *oleh angin* 'by the wind', in (39), the expression has a more neutral Process reading. I will return to this point below. From now on, however, the term AccP will be restricted to two-place *ter*-Processes with +human Forces.

In Functional Grammar two types of Process predications are distinguished (Dik 1978: 37). Type 1 Processes have one argument with the function Processed (Proc). (40) is an example:

- (40) John_{Proc} fell down

Type 2 Processes have two or three arguments and always involve a Goal and a Force. (41) is an example:

- (41) The wind_{FO} opened the door_{Go}

Above we saw the verbal prefix *ter-* in type 2 Processes with human Forces. We find *ter-* also in type 1 Processes in B.I.:

- (42) Biasanya saya bangun jam 7 pagi
usually I wake hour 7 morning
'Usually I wake at 7 in the morning'
- (43) Saya terbangun jam 5
I accid-wake hour 5
'I was awakened at 5'
- (44) Siti terjatuh dari kursi
S. accid-fall from chair
'Siti fell from the chair'

In (42) an Action is described, controlled by *saya*_{Ag}. In (43) a type 1 Process is described, in which *saya* is the Processed. One might propose that *ter-* productively used with Verbs indicates Processes (-control, +dynamism), of both type 1 and 2. However, we also find *ter-* (productively) with Verbs indicating States (-control, -dynamism), resulting from an Action. (46) and (48), for example, clearly have this static-resultative reading.

- (45) Saya menulis surat itu dalam Bahasa Indonesia
I act-write letter that in language Indonesian
'I wrote that letter in Indonesian'
- (46) Surat itu tertulis dalam Bahasa Indonesia
letter that stat-res-write in language Indonesian
'That letter is (written) in Indonesian'
- (47) Saya membuka pintu itu
I act-open door that
'I opened that door'
- (48) Pintu itu terbuka
door that stat-res-open
'That door is open'

When *ter-* has this static-resultative value a Force phrase or Agent phrase cannot be added. (49) is only grammatical in the Process reading, and ungrammatical in the State reading:

- (49) *Pintu terbuka oleh saya
door stat-res-open by me
'The door was opened by me'

So the correct generalization is that *ter-* in productively derived *ter-*Verbs signals -control. *Ter-*Verbs are Noncontrol Verbs, used to designate -controlled

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states of affairs (Process

The restriction to productively used prefix *ter-* is widely used with Verbs (like Adj) and both of the semantic values. For example, the static-resultative meaning:

- (50) Itu rumah yang terbesar
that house which is the biggest
'That is the biggest house'

Used non-productively with Verbs can indicate the ability of the subject with negatives:

- (51) Mobil semahal
car as-expensive
'I can't buy a car as expensive as this'

Summarizing we can say that

a. States:

- (52) Toko terbuka
shop -contr open
'The shop is open'

cf. the corresponding type 1:

- (53) Saya membuka toko
I act-open shop
'I opened that shop'

b. Processes: (i) type 1:

- (54) Saya terbangun
I -contr wa
'I was awakened at 5'

cf. the corresponding type 2:

- (55) Saya bangun biasanya
I wake usua
'I wake usually at 7'

(ii) type 2:

- (56) Kopi Saudara ter
coffee your -co
'I accidentally drank coffee'

(56) has a Force (oleh saya) accidental reading is present

states of affairs (Processes, States), and productively derived from Action Verbs.

The restriction to productively derived *ter*-Verbs is necessary because the prefix *ter-* is widely used in B.I. grammar, with V but also with other categories (like Adj) and both productively and non-productively, with all sorts of semantic values. For example, *ter-* used productively with Adj indicates superlative meaning:

- (50) Itu rumah yang terbesar
that house which superl-big
'That is the biggest house'

Used non-productively with Vs like *beli_V* 'to buy' and *dengar_V* 'to hear', *ter-* can indicate the ability of the Agent to perform an Action, and is mostly used with negatives:

- (51) Mobil semahal itu tidak terbeli oleh saya
car as-expensive (as) that not ability-buy by me
'I can't buy a car as expensive as that'

Summarizing we can say that *ter-* productively used with V indicates non-control:

a. States:

- (52) Toko terbuka
shop -contr open
'The shop is open'

cf. the corresponding two-place Action: with an Ag and a Go

- (53) Saya membuka toko itu
I act-open shop that
'I opened that shop'

b. Processes: (i) type 1:

- (54) Saya_{Proc} terbangun jam 4
I -contr wake hour 4
'I was awakened at four'

cf. the corresponding one-place Action:

- (55) Saya_{Ag} bangun biasanya jam 7
I wake usually hour 7
'I wake usually at 7'

(ii) type 2:

- (56) Kopi Saudara terminum oleh saya
coffee your -contr drink by me
'I accidentally drank your coffee'

(56) has a Force (*oleh saya*) and a Goal (*kopi Saudara*); with +human Forces the accidental reading is present; (56) is an AccP, cf. the corresponding two-place

Action:

- (57) Saya minum kopi saudara
I drink coffee your
'I drank your coffee'

Because human entities performing acts (like drinking, *minum* in (56)) are normally controllers, the idea of noncontrol expressed by *ter-* in this context has the semantic dimension of involuntary, unintentional activity. A second remark which has to be made regarding type 2 *ter*-Processes is that in these constructions the Goal is always Subject, cf. (58):

- (58) *Saya terminum kopi itu
I -contr drink coffee that
'I accidentally drank that coffee'

There are systematic correspondences between the *ter*-States/Processes and the corresponding Actions: the set of terms which can fill the Goal slot in the two-place Action (53) corresponds to the set which can fill the zero-slot in the one-place State (52); in a similar way the Agent of the one-place Action (55) corresponds to the Processed in the one-place type 1 Process (54); the same holds for the Goals of (57) and (56), the Agent of (57) and the Force of (56).

In Functional Grammar the facts mentioned so far can be formulated by means of a predicate formation rule of Noncontrol Verb Formation, (59):

(59) Noncontrol Verb Formation

- (i) $P_V (x_1)_{Ag} (x_2)_{Go} \rightarrow \begin{cases} \text{ter-p}_V (x_1)_{\emptyset} \\ \text{ter-p}_V (x_2)_{GoSubj} (x_1)_{Fo} \end{cases}$
- (ii) $P_V (x_1)_{Ag} \rightarrow \text{ter-p}_V (x_1)_{Proc}$

The relation between AccP and Passivization can now be formulated in terms of Noncontrol Verb Formation.

(60) and (61) are related via their predicate-frames:

- (60) Buku itu terbawa oleh saya
book that -contr bring by me
'That book was accidentally brought by me'

- (61) Buku itu saya
book that (by)m
'That book was

(61) is a passive expression
(62):

- (62) bawa_V (x₁)_{Ag}

(60) is an expression c

- (63) terbawa_V (x₂)

(63) is not a basic preformation. The superficial automatic selection by an *oleh* phrase.

4. Conclusions

In Functional Grammar (which have only a semantic and syntactic functions person in Indonesian Nc have only a semantic function 'by', the agentive mark and they have obligatory Indonesian Canonical Passive expression-peripheral c *oleh*.

Except for the peculiar constructions are normal to express a different perspective AgSubj-perspective

- (64) Saya membaca b
I act-read b
'I read that bc

- (65) Buku itu saya
book that (by)m
'That book was

- (61) Buku itu saya bawa
book that (by)me bring
'That book was brought by me'

(61) is a passive expression of a predication, built from the predicate-frame (62):

- (62) bawa_V (x₁)_{Ag} (x₂)_{Go}

(60) is an expression of a predication, built from (63).

- (63) terbawa_V (x₂)_{GoSubj} (x₁)_{Fo}

(63) is not a basic predicate-frame, but derived from (62) by Noncontrol Verb Formation. The superficially 'passive' impression which (60) makes is caused by the automatic selection of the Goal as Subject and the expression of the Force by an *oleh* phrase.

4. Conclusions

In Functional Grammar (Dik 1978: 74) a distinction is made between constituents which have only a semantic function (type 1) and constituents with both semantic and syntactic functions (type 2). The Agent constituents of first and second person in Indonesian Noncanonical Passives have type 2 properties, although they have only a semantic function: their semantic function (Ag) is 'masked' (*oleh* 'by', the agentive marker, must be absent), they have a fixed, preverbal position and they have obligatory status. The Agent constituents of third person in Indonesian Canonical Passives behave as is to be expected: they are optional, expression-peripheral constituents, in which the agentivity is overtly marked by *oleh*.

Except for the peculiar behaviour of Ag_{1/2} in Noncanonical Passives these constructions are normal passive constructions, i.e. constructions which serve to express a different perspective on a state of affairs (different from the expected AgSubj-perspectivizing); e.g. (64) and (65) differ only in perspective:

- (64) Saya membaca buku itu
I act-read book that
'I read that book'
- (65) Buku itu saya baca
book that (by)me read
'That book was read by me'

The special behaviour of $Ag_{1/2}$ I have tried to explain in terms of the syntactic (PRO) status and the semantic (+perspective) status of $Ag_{1/2}$. The preverbal position of $Ag_{1/2}$ is motivated by LIPOC: the preferred position of PRO is before V. In order to explain the different behaviour of Ag_3 PRO (*dia* 'he, she', *mereka* 'they') under LIPOC-pressure (Ag_3 PRO occurs optionally in preverbal position only in substandard B.I.) I have invoked the semantic factor Perspective. This factor has to do with the inherent perspective-attracting nature of constituents referring to Speaker and Hearer: it is very difficult to present a state of affairs other than from their point of view (Kuno 1976: 433; *The Speech Act Participant Empathy Hierarchy*).

In Passivization a non-Ag is Subject (+perspective) and the Ag is out of perspective. The $Ag_{1/2}$ resists this de-perspectivizing, and this causes the semi-passive nature of NonP: the Ag has a subject-like status and the Verb has a voice-neutral form. NonP recognizes the +perspective nature of $Ag_{1/2}$ by giving them a type 2 expression, which is normally only the privilege of constituents with both syntactic and semantic functional specification.

Accidental Passive is not a passive construction at all. Syntactically, AccP differs from Passivization in the use of *oleh*, and in the position and the status of the *oleh* phrase.

Semantically, AccP designate Processes, i.e. (66) and (67) have different underlying predications:

- (66) Buku itu saya bawa
book that (by)me brought
'That book was brought by me'
- (67) Buku itu terbawa oleh saya
book that -contr-bring by me
'I brought that book accidentally'

(66) is an Action, (67) a Process; they are related via their predicate-frames; (66) is built from (68) and (67) from (69):

- (68) bawa_V (x_1)_{Ag} (x_2)_{Go}
- (69) terbawa_V (x_2)_{GoSubj} (x_1)_{Fo}

(69) is derived from (68) by a predicate formation rule, Noncontrol Verb Formation, which derives (*inter alia*) two-place Process Verbs from two-place Action Verbs.

The prefix *ter-* in these (State/Process). The 'a' such as (67) when the P

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The prefix *ter-* in these Noncontrol Verbs signals -controlled states of affairs (State/Process). The 'accidental' reading is especially present in expressions such as (67) when the Force is +human.

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